

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL USUN 4322

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN PFOR KS

SUBJ: KOREAN IN 28TH GA: RECOMMENDATION FOR CHANGE IN TACTICS.

REF: A. SEOUL 7219

 B. USUN 3526

SUMMARY: CONSISTENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KIN'S TALK
WITH AMB HABIB, I AM CONVINCED WE SHOULD NOW PREPARE
OURSELVES AND ALLIES FOR CHANGE IN TACTICS ON KOREA
QUESTION. SPECIFICALLY, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DELETE
OUR MEMBERSHIP PARA AND TO EXPAND SLIGHTLY OUR OPERATIVE
PARA CONCERNING FUTURE SC CONSIDERATION OF KOREAN QUESTION.
WE MUST CHANGE TACTICS BECAUSE VOTING SITUATION IS
INADEQUATE TO ENSURE DEFEAT OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION AT
THIS GA. IMPOSSIBILITY OF ENSURING THAT FIRST COMITE
VOTES FIRST UPON OUR RESOLUTION IS IMPORTANT FACTOR IN
MY CONVICTION THAT WE ARE OBLIGED NOW TO SHIFT GEARS.

ACTION REQUESTED: AUTHORIZATION TO CONSULT WITH ALLIES ON
CHANGES.

1. KOREA DEBATE IN FIRST COMITE WILL BEGIN IN TWO WEEKS.
OUR VOTING ASSESSMENTS SHOW THAT WE ARE IN MORE FAVORABLE
POSITION NOW THAN ONE MONTH AGO (REFTEL B) BOTH IN
TERMS OF SUPPORT FOR OUR RESOLUTION (MARGIN OF ABOUT
15) AND OPPOSITION TO HOSTILE RESOLUTION (MARGIN FAVOR-
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ABLE TO US ABOUT 5). BUT THESE MARGINS, PARTICULARLY
ON HOSTILE RESOLUTION, ARE RISKY, SUBJECT TO LAST MINUTE SHIFTS
AND INSUFFICIENT TO GUARANTEE WE CAN ACHIEVE OUR PRIMARY
GOAL: DEFEAT OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION AT 28TH GA.

2. WITH THESE MARGINS WE COULD BE CONFIDENT OF
DEFEATING HOSTILE RESOLUTION ONLY IF WE COULD BE EQUALLY
SURE THAT FIRST COMITE WOULD VOTE ON OUR RESOLUTION BEFORE
HOSTILE RESOLUTION. WE CANNOT, BECAUSE OF FIRM OPINION
OF UN LEGAL COUNSEL STAVROPOULOS, BE SURE OF OBTAINING
PRIORITY EVEN IF WE LOBBY RIGOROUSLY FOR IT. IF HOSTILE
RESOLUTION IS VOTED UPON FIRST AND APPROVED OUR RESOLUTION
WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT RPT NOT BE PUT TO VOTE IN
FIRST COMITE. MOREOVER, IF FIRST COMITE ADOPTS HOSTILE
RESOLUTION, WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN IN VIEW PSYCHOLOGICAL
SITUATION THAT MIGHT BE CREATED BY THE COMITE'S ACTION
THAT WE COULD MOUNT THE BOLCKING THIRD NECESSARY TO
DEFEAT HOSTILE RESOLUTION IN PLENARY ASSUMING TWO-THIRDS
VOTE (IMPORTANT QUESTION) IS REQUIRED.

3. THIS GA IS CRITICAL FOR UN RELATIONSHIP TO KOREA
ISSUE. IN CONTEXT OF 135-MEMBER GA, WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY
FINALLY TO GET KOREA OFF US AND ROK HANDS BY DISSOLVING
UNCURK AND EXPLICITLY PLACING FUTURE OF UNC SOLELY IN
HANDS OF SECURITY COUNCIL, WHICH WE CAN USE AS FRAMEWORK
FOR PRESERVING CONTINUED ACCEPTANCE ARMISTICE
AGREEMENT AND DISPOSITION OF UNC.

4. DESIRE TO AVOID CONFRONTATION ON KOREA ISSUE IS
WIDESPREAD AND IS SHARED BY NUMBER OF COSPONSORS OF
HOSTILE RESOLUTION. WE CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS MOOD
TO DISPOSE CONSTRUCTIVELY OF KOREA AS GA ISSUE WHILE
PRESERVING ESSENTIAL US INTERESTS.

5. I AM CONVINCED THAT WE RISK FACING FIRST COMITE
ADOPTION OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION UNLESS WE SHIFT OUR TACTICS.
FIRST, WE MUST DECIDE IN PRINCIPLE THAT WE WOULD BE
WILLING TO DROP OUR OPERATIVE PARA THREE ON MEMBERSHIP.
SECOND, WE MUST DECIDE WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT
LANGUAGE REFLECTING OUR WILLINGNESS TO HAVE SECURITY
COUNCIL SEEK ACCEPTABLE MEANS OF ENDING UN ROLE IN KOREA
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ARMISTICE ARRAGEMENTS. THIS COULD BE REFLECTED BY
ADDING AT END OF OPERATIVE PARA FOUR: QUOTE: INCLUDING
THE UN COMMAND. UNQUOTE, OR SIMILAR FORMULA.

6. I BELIEVE THAT, IF WE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SUCH CHANGES,
WE STAND EXCELLENT CHANCE OF ENSURING THAT GA DOES NOT
ADOPT HOSTILE RESOLUTION AND THAT IT DOES ADOPT RESOLUTION
WITH WHICH US AND ROK CAN BE SATISFIED. WE ESSENTIALLY
HAVE THREE ALTERNATIVES FOR BRINGING THIS ABOUT (A)
AMENDMENT OF OUR OWN RESOLUTION; (B) AMENDMENT OF HOSTILE
RESOLUTION; (C) NEGOTIATE "MERGER" OF TWO RESOLUTIONS.
LAST (D) COURSE MIGHT INVOLVE NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT WITH
OPPOSITION (I) TO DROP PARA THREE OF BOTH RESOLUTIONS

(OUR MEMBERSHIP AND HOSTILE PARAS ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES, RESPECTIVELY), AND (II) MERGER OF OUR PARA FOUR WITH HOSTILE RESOLUTION'S PARA TWO (OUR SC AND HOSTILE RESOLUTION PARAS ON UNC-DISSOLUTION).

DECISION ON WHAT TACTICS TO ADOPT SHOULD BE MADE FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES AND VOTING ASSESSMENTS BASED ON VARIOUS ALTERNATIVE TACTICS.

7. FOREIGN MINISTER KIM HAS STATED TO AMB HABIB THAT HE IS PREPARED TO TAKE CRUCIAL STEP OF DROPPING MEMBERSHIP PARA. KOREAN MISSION STAFF HERE, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, HAS INDICATED THEY HAVE BEEN THINKING ALONG SAME LINES AND NOW FEEL WE MUST MOVE. IN PAST TWO DAYS UK AND JAPANESE HAVE PRESSED US HARD ON POSSIBLE CHANGES.

(SAITO SOUGHT OUT BENNETT TODAY FOR FORTY-MINUTE DISCUSSION)

8. I AM CANVINCED THAT WE SHOULD BEGIN CONSULTATIONS IMMEDIATELY HERE WITH ROK AND KEY ALLIES ON CHANGE IN TACTICS. THESE CONSULTATIONS MUST BE PROMPT AND THEY MUST BE FRANK. IF WE DO NOT BEGIN NOW TO DISCUSS CHANGES, WE MAY FIND OTHERS, INCLUDING AMONG MANY NON-COSPONSORS WHO ARE ANXIOUS FOR COMPROMISE, PRE-EMPTING US AND THUS THREATENING US WITH LOSS OF CONTROL.

9. ACTION REQUESTED: AUTHORIZATION TO BEGIN CONSULTATIONS ON CHANGE IN TACTICS WITH MEMBERS OF KOREA WORKING GROUP.
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